

## Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 ANKARA 06825 051029Z

15

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-06 ISO-00 SS-07 /017 W

----- 107982

R 050924Z SEP 75

FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 613

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ANKARA 6825

FOR H

E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: PFOR, MASS, TU, US

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR CONGRESSMAN SIKES

IF DEPARTMENT HAS NO OBJECTION, PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING  
MESSAGE TO REPRESENTATIVE ROBERT L. F. SIKES FROM AMBASSADOR  
MACOMBER. THE CONGRESSMAN ASKED ME TO REPEAT CERTAIN TALKING  
POINTS WHICH HE WOULD LIKE TO USE IN HIS OWN ARGUMENTATION IN THE  
FORTHCOMING DEBATE ON THE TURKISH EMBARGO LEGISLATION.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR BOB:

DURING OUR DISCUSSION IN ISTANBUL, YOU ASKED ME TO SEND YOU IN-  
FORMALLY CERTAIN POINTS CONCERNING THE CURRENT CYPRUS SITUATION WHICH  
WE WENT OVER TOGETHER. THESE WERE:

(1) THE TURKISH ARMS EMBARGO IS HURTING RATHER THAN HELPING OUR  
EFFORTS TO PROMOTE A CYPRUS SOLUTION. A BASIC AND FINAL SETTLEMENT OF  
THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, WHICH WOULD BE HARD TO ATTAIN UNDER THE BEST OF  
CIRCUMSTANCES, WILL BE HELD BACK AS LONG AS THE EMBARGO IS IN EFFECT.

(2) WHILE THE EMBARGO IS AN IMPORTANT NEGATIVE FACTOR IN THE CYPRUS  
SITUATION, ALMOST DESTROYING OUR ABILITY TO INFLUENCE TURKEY TO MAKE  
CONCESSIONS, ITS PRIMARY IMPACT IS ON U.S.-TURKISH BILATERAL RE-  
LATIONS. HERE THE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION HAS ALREADY DONE SERIOUS DAM-  
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 ANKARA 06825 051029Z

AGE TO THOSE RELATIONS. IF THE EMBARGO IS LIFTED, WE WILL NOT BE

ABLE TO RETURN TO THE STATUS QUO ANTE. WE WILL, HOWEVER, BE IN A POSITION TO BEGIN REBUILDING A STRONG AND VIABLE RELATIONSHIP. IF IT IS NOT RPT NOT LIFTED, WE WILL FACE NOT RPT NOT JUST THE SUSPENSION OF OUR INSTALLATIONS' OPERATIONS HERE (AS AT PRESENT), BUT THE DISMANTLEMENT OF THOSE INSTALLATIONS.

(3) HOWEVER, WHAT WE FACE IS NOT RPT NOT ONLY THE LOSS OF CRITICALLY IMPORTANT U.S. INSTALLATION. WE WILL ALSO LOSE AN IMPORTANT MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH A COUNTRY THAT HAS A LARGER LAND FORCE THAN ANY OTHER OF OUR NATO PARTNERS.

(4) IF THE U.S.-TURKISH MILITARY PARTNERSHIP IS DESTROYED, TURKEY'S COMMITMENT TO NATO IS BOUND TO BE WEAKENED, ALTHOUGH, IN THE SHORT RUN, TURKEY WILL DO WHAT IT CAN TO RETAIN ITS TIES TO THE ALLIANCE. NATO'S SOUTHERN FLANK HAS ALREADY BEEN DAMAGED. WE HAVE SEEN SERIOUS ADVERSE DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL, ITALY AND GREECE AS WELL AS IN TURKEY. BUT WHILE THERE ARE SERIOUS PROBLEMS WE FACE IN CERTAIN SOUTHERN FLANK COUNTRIES (AND ELSEWHERE AROUND THE WORLD) OFTEN STEM FROM FACTORS NOT RPT NOT UNDER OUR CONTROL, THE CAPACITY TO HALT FURTHER DETERIORATION IN THE U.S.-TURKISH STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP IS COMPLETELY IN OUR HANDS.

(5) THE US-TURKISH STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP IS HIGHLY IMPORTANT. IF YOU LOOK AT TURKEY'S GEOPOLITICAL POSITION, ITS CONTROL OF THE STRAIT, ITS OCCUPATION OF THE CRITICAL TERRITORY IMMEDIATELY ON RUSSIA'S SOUTHERN FLANK AND THE STRATEGIC AND INTELLIGENCE CONSEQUENCES THAT FLOW FROM THIS, THE FACT THAT IT HAS THE SECOND LARGEST ARMY IN NATO (OURS IS THE LARGEST) WITH HISTORICALLY PROVEN FIGHTING CAPACITY -- AND YOU PUT THIS TOGETHER WITH THE AMERICAN INSTALLATIONS AND RESOURCES THAT TURKEY HAS INVITED US TO PLACE ON ITS SOIL, WHAT YOU HAVE IS A US-TURKISH CONGLOMERATE OF COMBINED STRENGTH WHICH TAKEN TOGETHER ADDS UP TO A KEY ELEMENT IN THE POWER EQUILIBRIUM IN THE WORLD. IT IS NOT THE KEY ELEMENT BUT IT IS CERTAINLY A KEY ELEMENT AND IT MAKES NO SENSE WHATSOEVER IN THESE DIFFICULT TIMES TO PERMIT THIS KEY RELATIONSHIP TO DISINTEGRATE WHEN IT IS CLEARLY IN OUR HANDS TO PREVENT IT.

(6) EVEN THE MOST OBJECTIVE OF TURKS DEEPLY BELIEVE THEY HAVE BEEN FAR MORE SINNED AGAINST THAN SINNING IN THIS CURRENT CYPRUS CRISIS AND IN EARLIER CYPRUS CRISES. (FOR OBJECTIVE AND INFORMED OUTSIDERS, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 ANKARA 06825 051029Z

THE ARGUMENTATION ON THIS POINT IS COMPLEX AND ALMOST ENDLESS. CERTAINLY, HOWEVER, INFORMED AND OBJECTIVE SOURCES RECOGNIZE THAT BOTH THE GREEKS AND THE TURKS HAVE FACED CONSIDERABLE AND SERIOUS FRUSTRATIONS FROM EACH OTHER OVER THE YEARS IN THIS SITUATION.) IN ANY EVENT IN TURKEY ALL TURKS DEEPLY BELIEVE THAT A FAIR APPRAISAL OF THE MERITS SHOULD BRING THE US OUT STRONGLY ON THEIR SIDE. MANY TURKS, HOWEVER, RECOGNIZE THAT GREECE'S FRIENDSHIP AND SECURITY RELATIONSHIP IS ALSO OF VERY GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE US AND

THEREFORE THAT IT IS UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT THE US GOVERNMENT TO SUPPORT THE TURKISH AUSE IN CYPRUS WHOLEHEARTEDLY AGAINST THE GREEKS. ON THE OTHER HAND, GIVEN THE FACT THAT TURKEY'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE US IS OF AT LEAST AS GREAT IMPORTANCE AND THAT THE MERITS AND DEMERITS OF THE SITUATION ARE AT THE VERY LEAST MIXED, THEY FIND IT INCOMPREHENSIBLE THAT CONGRESS SHOULD ACT ON THE REVERSE SIDE OF THE COIN, NAMELY AS IF THE ENTIRE BLAME LAY ON TURKISH SHOULDERS AND THEN MOVE SO ONESIDELY AGAINST AN IMPORTANT ALLY.

(7) TURKS HERE ARE ALSO INCREASINGLY EMBITTERED BY THE MOUNTING VILIFICATION IN IMPORTANT CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERS OF THE TURKISH NATIONAL CHARACTER -- IN MARKED CONTRAST TO THE DAYS OF KOREA. THE TURKS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN SENSITIVE ABOUT PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGNS PROMOTING THE "TERRIBLE TURK" IMAGE. AGAIN, OBJECTIVE TURKS RECOGNIZE THAT, LIKE ALL OTHER PEOPLES, THEY HAVE THEIR HISTORICAL SINS. THE ARMENIAN ERA, THEY POINT OUT, TOOK PLACE BEFORE THE FOUNDING OF THE MODERN TURK REPUBLIC.

(8) I HAVE STRESSED BOTH OUR STRATEGIC INTERESTS IN THE SITUATION HERE AND HOW THE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION LOOKS THROUGH TURKISH EYES. IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THE CONGRESS TO UNDERSTAND THE LATTER, BUT OF COURSE THE MAIN ARGUMENT SHOULD BE BASED ON THE KEY US INTERESTS WHICH ARE AT STAKE HERE. ONE FINAL POINT YOU MAY WISH TO MAKE, HOWEVER, IS THAT GREEK INTERESTS ARE LIKELY TO BE DISSERVED BY THE IMPENDING DETERIORATION OF THE US-TURKISH RELATIONS. GREECE, LIKE TURKEY, IS AN IMPORTANT FRIEND TO THE US AND ITS INTERESTS ARE MORE LIKELY, RATHER THAN LESS LIKELY, TO BE ADVANCED AS THE US-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP IS INTACT.

(9) I HOPE SOME OF THE FOREGOING WILL BE USEFUL TO YOU.  
GOOD LUCK, AND WARMEST REGARDS. BILL MACOMBER. END TEXT.  
MACOMBER

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 ANKARA 06825 051029Z

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED ABOVE ADDRESSEE.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MILITARY ASSISTANCE, FOREIGN RELATIONS, BRIEFING MATERIALS, EMBARGOES, US CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 05 SEP 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** woolflhd  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975ANKARA06825  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750307-0595  
**From:** ANKARA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750977/aaaacqds.tel  
**Line Count:** 154  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION H  
**Original Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** woolflhd  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 20 AUG 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <20 AUG 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <09 DEC 2003 by woolflhd>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** MESSAGE FOR CONGRESSMAN SIKES IF DEPARTMENT HAS NO OBJECTION, PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING  
**TAGS:** PFOR, MASS, TU, US, (SIKES, ROBERT L F), (MACOMBER, WILLIAM B JR)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006